

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 CAIRO 05415 01 OF 03 211529Z

42

ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 NEA-07 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 /025 W

----- 031451

R 211409Z APR 76

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2285

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 CAIRO 5415

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: OREP (JAVITS, JACOB) EG

SUBJECT: CODEL JAVITS: ASSESSMENT OF VISIT

REF: (A) CAIRO 5223 (B) CAIRO 5233

SUMMARY: SENATOR JAVITS HAD FULL SCHEDULE OF APPOINTMENTS FOR HIS APRIL 16-19 VISIT TO CAIRO. HE MET WITH PRESIDENT, FONMIN, SPEAKER, SEVERAL MINISTERS AND INFORMALLY WITH EGYPTIAN INTELLECTUALS. DISCUSSIONS WERE CORDIAL AND MUTUALLY INSTRUCTIVE, CENTERING ON PEACE PROCESS. BOTH SIDES AGREED THERE SHOULD BE PUSH FOR PEACE BEFORE US ELECTIONS, AIMING TOWARD PHASED PEACE PLAN. DISAGREEMENT WAS SHARP ON BOTH "MODERATION" OF FATAH AND SUITABILITY PLS AS PARTY TO NEGOTIATIONS. SENATOR THOUGH PALESTINIANS ISSUE CORE OF PROBLEM, BUT FINDS PLO UNACCEPTABLE AS NEGOTIATING PARTY. EGYPTIANS PRESSED HARD FOR US ARMS SALES, CAUTIONING THAT WITHOUT LOOSENING OF US ARMS POLICY, NEW RATIONAL ORIENTATION OF ARAB POLICY WILL BE GRAVELY UNDERMINED AND GOE COULD BE FORCED BACK BY DOMESTIC PRESSURE TO MOSCOW. SENATOR WAS PARTICULARLY IMPRESSED BY SADAT'S EXPLANATION THAT DECISION ABROGATE SOVIET TREATY SPRUNG FROM EGYPTIAN DETERMINATION MAINTAIN NATIONAL INDEPENDNECE AND WAS NOT INTENDED AS SOP TO US. SENATOR WAS ALSO INTERESTED IN EGYPTIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. VISIT WAS SUCCESS. EGYPTIANS WERE PLEASED THAT FRIEND OF ISRAEL PROFESSED HIMSELF ALSO TO BE FRIEND OF
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 CAIRO 05415 01 OF 03 211529Z

EGYPT AND OF PEACE. SENATOR WAS IMPRESSED BY SADAT'S

COURAGE AND STATESMANLIKE WILLINGNESS "TAKE RISKS FOR PEACE".
END SUMMARY..

1. SENATOR JAVITS, ACCOMPANIED BY AIDES LAKELAND AND KELLERMANN, VISITED CAIRO APRIL 16-19. SENATOR HAD LIVELY AND USEFUL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH PRESIDENT SADAT (VP MUBARAK SAT IN), FONMIN FAHMY, SPEAKER MAR'I, MINECON SHAFI, MIN HOUSING AND RECONSTRUCTION OSMAN, MIN INFO AND CULTURE OTEIFY, AND MINPET HILAL. HE ALSO HAD CHANCE TO MEET WITH TWO GROUPS EGYPTIAN INTELLECTUALS, INCLUDING A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT AND A LEADING MARXIST. IN ADDITION, SENATOR CALLED ON AKHBAR CHAIRMAN MUSA SABRI AND FILLED IN ANY EXTRA MINUTES WITH INFORMAL BRIEFINGS BY THE AMBASSADOR, LIGHTNING VISITS TO BAZAAR AND PYRAMIDS, AND TWO SESSIONS ON THE TENNIS COURT. EGYPTIAN PRESS COVERED THE SENATOR'S VISIT STRAIGHTFORWARDLY AND FEATURE PHOTO APRIL 18 WAS OF PRESIDENT SADAT GREETING THE SENATOR. FRONT PAGE EDITORIAL APRIL 20 SIGNED BY MUSA SABRI WELCOMED VISIT AND CHANCE TO HAVE "DIALOGUE" WITH PROMINENT FRIEND OF ISRAEL WHO IS CONVINCED THAT EGYPT WANTS PEACE.

2. SENATOR WAS WARMLY RECEIVED BY ALL HIS INTERLOCUTORS. EVEN FAHMY, CONTENTIOUS BY NATURE, HAD LIVELY BUT CORDIAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH HIM. AS MIGHT BE EXPECTED, MAJOR POINTS AT ISSUE WERE COVERED IN ALL HIS MEETINGS. SUMMARY BY TOPIC FOLLOWS:

3. TIMING FOR PEACE. SENATOR EXPLAINED HIS VIEW THAT THERE SHOULD BE PUSH FOR PEACE RIGHT NOW. US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS SHOULD BE CONVERTED FROM OBSTACLE TO IMMEDIATE MOVEMENT INTO STIMULUS; IF VIABLE PEACE PLAN CAN BE DEvised, ANY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE WOULD ENDORSE IT. HE BELIEVES, AND HIS EGYPTIAN HOSTS AGREED, THAT PEACE PLAN MUST BE PHASED, WITH CLEARLY STATED ULTIMATE OUTCOME UNDERSTOOD BY ALL. CARE MUST BE TAKEN THAT NO PARTY'S POSITION IS HARDENED IN PROCESS. ULTIMATE GOAL, AS SENATOR SAID TO PRESIDENT SADAT, MUST BE SECURITY FOR ALL.

4. PRESIDENT SADAT EXPLAINED THAT HE HAS "TAKEN RISKS FOR
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 CAIRO 05415 01 OF 03 211529Z

PEACE" (E.G. OPENING CANAL) AND HE IS DETERMINED TO CONTINUE HIS EFFORTS. THE PRESIDENT AND SENATOR AGREED THAT PROBLEM CANNOT BE SETTLED BY FORCE OF ARMS, AS 1967 AND 1973 CONFLICTS HAVE SHOWN. PRESIDENT AGREED MOVEMENT MUST BEGIN ASAP: MEPC SHOULD BE CONVENED BEFORE US ELECTIONS, PALESTINIANS SHOULD BE INVITED TO JOIN, AND THEN, AFTER US ELECTIONS, PARTIES CAN GET SERIOUSLY DOWN TO WORK ON DETAILED PLANNING FOR PEACE. ASKED FOR HIS

DESIGN FOR PEACE, PRESIDENT PROPOSED OFFICIAL END TO STATE OF BELLIGERENCY, PERMITTING PALESTINIANS "TO START THEIR STATE" (WEST BANK-GAZA WITH CORRIDOR) AND GUARANTTE FOR BOTH REPEAT BOTH SIDES. THESE GUARANTEES, PRESIDENT CONTINUED, COULD COME FROM ANY NUMBER OF SOURCES, US, US-USSR, FIVE GREAT POWERS, UNSC OR ANY SIMILAR COMBINTATIONS. FURTHER, IF ISRAEL ASKS USG FOR TREATY, SADAT WOULD NOT OBJECT AS LONG AS THERE ARE GUARANTEES FOR BOTH SIDES. "ISRAEL", PRESIDENT EMPHASIZED, "IS THREAT TO US" (I.E. EGYPTIANS AND ARABS). FONMIN ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 CAIRO 05415 02 OF 03 211538Z

42

ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 NEA-07 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 /025 W

----- 031567

R 211409Z APR 76

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2286

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 3 CAIRO 5415

EGYPT WILL GO FAR DOWN THE ROAD OF POLITICAL COMPROMISE TOWARD PEACE, THOUGH NATIONAL SECURITY COULD NOT, OF COURSE, BE ENDANGERED. FAHMY SAID HE READY TO NEGOTIATE FREEZE ON CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS IN CONNECTION WITH FINAL PEACE SETTLEMENT AS WELL AS ENDING BELLIGERENCY AND RECOGNIZING ISRAEL. SHAFAT CANDIDLY STATED EGYPT CANNOT AFFORD ANOTHER WAR.

5. SADAT, FAHMY, MAR'I AND OTHERS EMPHASIZED THAT WITH EGYPT IN SUCH AN ACCOMMODATING MOOD, IT IS ISRAEL WHICH IS CLEARLY NOT READY FOR PEACE, DUE TO WEAKNESS OF ISRAELI GOVERNMENT. SADAT SAID HE WOULD RATHER DO BUSINESS WITH MRS. MEIR WHO, UNLIKE PRESENT LEADERSHIP, WHEN CONVINCED SHE WAS RIGHT WAS NOT AFRAID TO STAND UP TO KNESSET AND ISRAELI PEOPLE. SENATOR AGREED WEAKNESS GOI IS A PROBLEM, BUT HE THOUGHT SITUATION MUCH MORE COMPLEX THAN THIS ANALYSIS WOULD SUGGEST, SINCE

ISRAEL CANNOT TAKE RISKS, ESPECIALLY VIS-A-VIS PALESTINIAN PROBLEM, WITH ITS OWN NATIONAL SECURITY.

6. PALESTINIANS, PLO AND FATAH "MODERATION". EGYPTIANS AND SENATOR AGREED THAT PALESTINIAN ISSUE IS AT CORE OF ME PROBLEM, BUT DISAGREED FUNDAMENTALLY ON BEST APPROACH TO INVOLVING PALESTINAINS IN SETTLEMENT PROCESS, FOR EGYPTIANS, PLO SHOULD REPRESENT PALESTINIAN INTEREST AT GENEVA AND SHOULD PRESIDE OVER A WEST BANK-GIZA STATE. SENATOR REJECTED BOTH THESE PROPOSITIONS. FOR SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 CAIRO 05415 02 OF 03 211538Z

ISRAEL TO ACCEPT PLO AS ENTITY WHICH WOULD ESTABLISH NEIGHBORINGSTATE WOULD CONSTITUTE "FINAL AND ABSOLUTE SURRENDER". SENATOR AGREED THAT SOME FORMULA FOR PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION MUST BE FOUND AND HE TOLD BOTH PRESIDENT AND FONMIN THAT HE WOULD "TRY TO FIND A WAY". HOWEVER, PLI ITSELF IS UNACCEPTABLE FOR TWO REASONS: (1) TERRORISM MAY BE ENDEMIC TO "LIBERATION" MOVEMENTS, BUT PLO VERSION IS INHUMAN, NIHILISTIC AND UNNECESSARILY CRUEL; (2) PLO LACKS ANY MANDATE WHATSOEVER FROM PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. SENATOR THOUGHTISRAELDECISION HOLD WEST BANK ELECTIONS, KNOWING RADICAL CANDIDATES LIKELY TO SUCCEED, WAS COURAGEOUS. CONCEIVABLY, IN HIS VIEW, SOME PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION AT GENEVA MIGHT BE DERIVED FROM THIS NEW LEADERSHIP CADRE, WHICH HAS A PALESTINIAN CONSTITUENCY.

7. SPEAKING TO SMALL GROUP OF EGYPTIAN INTELLECTUALS ON SPECIFIC POINT OF INTRODUCING PALESTINIANS INTO NEGOTIATING PROCESS, SENATOR THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE USEFUL EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF PLACING ON MEPC AGENDA QUESTION OF "WHO REPRESENTS PALESTINIANS." THIS COULD BE FIRST ITEM OR POSSIBLY PRE-AGENDS ITEM WHICH MIGHT OPERATE AS A CREDENTIALS PROCESS. ON QUESTION OF PLO "MODERATION," PRESIDENT SADAT AND OTHERS EPXRESSED THEIR CONVICTION THAT PLO IS, IN FACT, MODERATE AND CONSITUATES 80 PERCENT (SADAT'S FIGURE) OF PLO MEMBERSHIP. PRESIDENT SPECIFICALLY WARNED THAT THESE MODERATE ELEMENTS MUST STAY IN CONTROL, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW SYRIAN GRAB FOR TAKEOVER, OR A CHANCE FOR PEACE MAY BE LOST. SADAT STRONGLY URGED USG-PLO DIALOGUE BOTH TO STRENGTHEN MODERATION AND "SAVE ISRAELIS' FACE". SENATOR OPINED CONGRESS COULD NEVER AGREE AND THAT NO US PRESIDENT WOULD ACCEPT SUCH A DIALOGUE. HE ALSO REJECTED NOTION THAT ARAFAT'S MODERATION COULD BE ADDUCED FROM HIS PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS, SINCE ARAFAT CONTENTS PUBLICLY TO BE MILITANT ENEMY OF SURVIVAL OF ISRAEL AS INDEPENDENT STATE.

8. US SUPPORT AND SADAT'S SURVIVAL. LEIT MOTIF OF

CONVERSATIONS WITH FONMIN FAHMY, SPEAKER MAR'I, AND
GROUP OF INTELLECTUALS WAS NECESSITY FOR EGYPT TO PROVE
TO ARAB WORLD THAT EGYPTIAN SHIFT FROM EXTREMISM TO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 CAIRO 05415 02 OF 03 211538Z

RATIONALITY WOULD WORK. FAHMY WAS MOST EMPHATIC
AND PERTINACIOUS. IF U.S. ARMS POLICY REMAINS SO RIGID,
HE STRESSED, ANY EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT WILL BE FORCED BACK TO
MOSCOW FOR DOMESTIC (ARMY) AND FOREIGN POLICY (CONTINUING
OCCUPATION OF ARAB LAND) REASONS. SADAT AND HE WOULD NOT
BE AROUND FOREVER. MAR'I SAID "RED LINE" COULD BE DRAWN
IN EARLY 1977; IF NO CONCRETE MANIFESTATION OF PROGRESS
TOWARD PEACE (HOPEFULLY INCLUDING ARMS) HAD EMERGED
BY THEN, SADAT WOULD BE IN TROUBLE. C-130'S ARE APPRECIATED
AS EARNEST OF U.S. INTENT, BUT MORE IS NECESSARY.
SENATOR EXPLAINED THAT US MILITARY SUPPLY POLICY HAS NOT
YET CRYSTALIZED, BUT DOUBTED COMMITMENTS COULD BE MADE.
HE EXPRESSED DEEP RESERVATIONS AT NOTION OF SUPPLYING
ARMS TO TWO COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE JUST CONCLUDED WAR
AND AGREED WITH WHAT HE THOUGHT TO BE GENERAL CONGRESSIONAL
VIEW THAT WE SHOULD SEE WHAT CAN BE DONE NOW ON OTHER
FRONTS. FAHMY ASKED THAT SENATOR NOT LEAVE EGYPT WITHOUT
UNDERSTANDING GRAVITY OF ARMS QUESTION; IF NECESSARY, EGYPT
WILL GET ARMS ELSEWHERE. HE EXPLAINED EGYPT PREFERS
US SOURCES AND SUGGESTED THIS WOULD BE IN USG INTEREST
AS WASHINGTON WOULD THEN KNOW WHO IS GETTING WHAT AND MIGHT
KEEP A BALANCE. INBALANCE CONSTITUTE INDUCEMENT FOR
ISRAEL TO ATTACK. PRO-AMERICAN MEMBER OF PEOPLE'S
ASSEMBLY, MAKING SIMILAR POINT TO SENATOR, EXPRESS VIEW

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 CAIRO 05415 03 OF 03 211548Z

40

ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 NEA-07 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 /025 W

----- 031791

R 211409Z APR 76

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2287

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 CAIRO 5415

THAT EVEN EGYPTIAN INTELLECTUALS WELL DISPOSED TOWARD
U.S. FEAR DEEP IN THEIR HEARTS THAT WASHINGTON MAY BE
TAKING EGYPT "FOR A RIDE".

9. ABROGATION OF SOVIET TREATY. SENATOR INDICATED HE WAS
LEAVING EGYPT HAVING FOR FIRST TIME UNDERSTOOD WHY SADAT,
WITH NO VIABLE ALTERNATIVE IN SIGHT, HAD DARED ABROGATE
FRIENDSHIP TREATY. SENATOR ACCEPTED SADAT'S RATIONALE THAT
SOVIETS SEEK TURMOIL, NOT PEACE, IN AREA SO THAT
EGYPTIANS AND OTHERS WILL BE FORCED SEEK MOSCOW'S HELP.
IN SENATOR'S PHRASE, SOVIET ME POLICY SOUGHT "ENSLAVE"
GOE. SADAT EMPHASIZED SOVIET ANGER AT HIS DECISION TO SEEK
PEACE AND IN PARTICULAR HIS DECISION ACCEPT US TECHNICIANS
IN SINAI.

10. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND AREA PEACE. SENATOR NOTED
THAT STUDY OF ECONOMIC FIGURES FOR ISRAEL AND EGYPT WERE
STARTLINGLY SIMILAR AND REPRESENT "IMPOSSIBLE" BURDEN
ON BOTH. EGYPTIANS STRESSED THEIR DEDICATION TO ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT AND REFORM, BOTH FOR SAKE OF WAR WEARY
EGYPTIAN PEOPLE AND AS TANGIBLE DEMONSTRATION TO ISRAEL
THAT EGYPT WANTS PEACE. SADAT, OSMAN AND MAR'I EACH
STRESSED RECONSTRUCTION OF SUEZ CANAL CITIES AND RESETTLEMENT
OF THREE QUARTERS OF A MILLION PEOPLE THERE. OSMAN
INDICATED HE AIMS AT 60,000 NEW LOW COST HOUSING UNITS
THERE THIS YEAR. SENATOR HOPED THAT REGIONAL TRADE ARRANGEMENTS
CAN ONE DAY BE WORKED OUT TO BENEFIT OF ALL PARTIES. HE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 CAIRO 05415 03 OF 03 211548Z

TOLD MINECON SHAFAT HE WOULD BE PLEASED TALK WITH OPIC
RE OBTAINING HIGHER PRIORITY FOR PARTICULAR US PRIVATE INVESTMENT
PROJECT, AND STRESSED HIS BELIEF THAT PRIVATE FOREIGN INVESTMENT
CAN PLAY IMPORTANT ROLE IN EGYPTIAN DEVELOPMENT. HE EXPLAINED
TO SHAFAT THAT BUDGET SUPPORT IN COMING YEARS WILL NOT BE
VIEWED SYMPATHETICALLY BY THE CONGRESS.

1.. EUROPE AND ME. SENATOR EXPRESSED TO SADAT AND OTHERS
HIS FIRM BELIEF THAT NATO COUNTRIES ARE NOT LIVING UP
TO THEIR ME RESPONSIBILITIES, PERHAPS OUT OF FEAR OF
OIL WEAPON AND/OR DISINCLINATION TAKE ON POST-SETTLEMENT
PEACE KEEPING DUTIES. SADAT THOUGHT PRIME RESPONSIBILITY
LIES WITH US, WHICH "HOLDS ALL THE CARDS." SENATOR
DEMURRED, RECALLING UK ROLE IN DRAFTING RES 242.

12. COMMENT: SENATOR WAS IMPRESSED BY SADAT'S COURAGE AND STATESMANSHIP, ESPECIALLY DECISION TO ABROGATE TREATY AND TO "TAKE RISKS FOR PEACE." WE BELIVE EGYPTIANS, MANY OF WHOM HAD FRANKLY EXPECTED A HARD LINE FRIEND OF ISRAEL, FOUND INSTEAD ARTICULATE, THOUGHTFUL FRIEND OF PEACE. IN OUR VIEW, SENATOR MADE CONSIDERABLE IMPACT WHEN HE POINTED OUT IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE THAT A FRIEND OF ISRAEL CAN ALSO BE A FRIEND OF EGYPT AND OF PEACE AND THAT HE CONSIDERS HIMSELF IN THIS LIGHT.

13. SENATOR'S VISIT WAS HISTORIC EVENT. MERE FACT OF HIS PRESENCE IN EGYPT EXCITED AREA WIDE INTEREST. MORE IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, WAS OUTSTANDING IMPRESSION HE MADE ON HIS INTERLOCUTORS AND MUTUALLY INSTRUCTIVE NATURE OF HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH THEM. HE HAD SAID HE CAME TO LISTEN AND LEARN, BUT HE DID MORE THAN THAT. EGYPTIANS FROM SADAT ON DOWN NOW HAVE MUCH CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF SENATOR'S DEDICATION TO PEACE AND WILLINGNESS LISTEN TO BOTH SIDES. VISIT WAS, THANKS TO THE SENATOR, A SUCCESS.

13. ALTHOUGH SENATOR HAS NOT SEEN THIS MESSAGE, IT IS BASED ON MEMCONS OF HIS INVIDUAL TALKS WITH EGYPTIAN LEADERS SEEN AND APPROVED BY HIM. SENATOR HAS COPIES OF MEMCONS. EILTS

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 21 APR 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ShawDG
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976CAIRO05415
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760151-0236
From: CAIRO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760440/aaaabhwq.tel
Line Count: 354
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION H
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 CAIRO 5223, 76 CAIRO 5233
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <05 MAY 2004 by CollinP0>; APPROVED <02 SEP 2004 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CODEL JAVITS: ASSESSMENT OF VISIT
TAGS: OREP, EG, (JAVITS, JACOB)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006